"A copy of the resolution adopted by Lok Sabha on the 2th December, 1989 regarding constitution of the Railway Convention Committee is enclosed. "

"RESOLUTION"

"That this House do recommend *to* Rajya Sabha *to agree* to associate 6 members from Rajya Sabha with the Parliamentary Committee to revie wthe rate of dividend which is at present payable by the Railway Undertaking to General Revenues as well as other ancillary matters in connection with the Railway Finance *vis-a-vis the* General Finance and make recommendations thereon and to communicate the names of the members so appointed to this House. "

APPROPRIATION (NO. 6) BILL, 1989

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): Madam, T beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1989-90, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration. "

The Bill arises out of the Supplementary Appropriation 'Charged' on the Consolidated Fund of India and Demands voted by the Lok Sabha on December 26. These involve a gross additional expenditure of Rs. 1730. 36 crores.

Against the gross additional expenditure of Rs. 1730. 36 crores savings/ recoveries or increased receipts to the extent of Rs. 900. 01 crores have been identified leaving a net additional requirement of Rs. 830. 35 crores. This comprises Rs. 200. 00 crores for Defence Services, Rs. 100. 00 crores for Subsidy on imported fertilizers, Rs. 300. 00 crores for Subsidy on indigenous fertilizers, Rs. 125. 00 crores for Cash Compensatory Support for exports, Rs. 75. 00 crores for Interest subsidy on export credit; Rs. 30. 10 crores for Sut-lej-Yamuna Link Canal and Rs. 0. 25 crore for other items arising from court judgments. The details of the Supplementary Demands are available in the documents laid on the Table of the House on 21st December, 1989.

The question teas proposed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have a number of Members on the list. There are two statements to be made. During the last session we had passed an Appropriation Bill without any discussion. So I will request Members that they should "restrain from giving big speeches so that we take up two Statements. We have to adjourn the House at 8. 45 as requested by some Members. Shri S. S. Ahluwalia. *(Interruptions)*

SHBI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar); Why can't we pass it without dicussion when you demanded that the House should adjourn... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan): Madam, I strongly object to it. The Economic Report was to be discussed today. Mr. Salve requested that since they have a dinner engagement the House should be adjourned at 8. 45. Therefore, it was agreed that it should be postponed till tomorrow and we will sit as long as the business lasts tomorrow. And now they want to discuss the Appropriation Bill. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Why should we lose our right

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: You can't have it both ways. *(Interrup, tions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let them discuss and decide. I am at the will of the House.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): My understanding was that the members of the Congress Party wanted to adjourn the House at 8. 45. They also agreed that the Appropriation Bill will be passed without discussion.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Madam, let us sit till midnight. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is the Leader of the House. Please listen to him. Then you have the right to reply, if you want to. But let him finish.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: My understanding was that they will pass this Appropriation Bill without any discussion at all. Now they want to discuss it. I have no objection. But if they want to discuss it, I would also like the House to discuss the report on the economic situation today itself.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Madam, I have to make only one submission. Apart from the List of Business that we already have, they have brought in another Statement by a Minister.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Madam, we must discuss the report of the Economic Advisory Council today.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 14 clarifications on the two Statements. I want to remind the House about it.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Madam, Mr. Bansal wants to know what was the need for the Statement today. We don't need his advice on that. It is for the Government to decide when to come out with the Statement. It is highly objectionable.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam.....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I must remind you that you were given full time. Mr. Bansal, you were not here. We discussed the President's Address one and a half hours extra. That is why we are delayed. Then we started the legislation. *(Interruptions)* Just listen to me. There is no need to get agitated. (Interruptions) Would you please listen to me? We were to start discussion on the Assam Bill at 4. 00 o'clock. We started one and a half hours late. So, we gave extension to the Motion of Thanks by one and a half hours. So, the time is being utilised properly. Nobody's time is being curtailed, I can assure you of that.

Now it is up to the House. I have no objection to sit till tomorrow morning.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam, you have to listen to small parties like ours also. This is an Appropriation Bill for a sum of Rs. 1730 crores. This is equivalent to the entire budget of the country in 1952. And you want to pass it just like that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I dan't want to pass. I am sitting here the whole night.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: If they are prepared to sit the whole night, let them speak. We will also discuss the Economic Advisory Council's report.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have no objection to any discussion. I am here.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Let the Statement by the Minister not be there.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: The Government does not function at the discretion of Mr. Bansal and Mr. Narayanasamy.

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : आप कैसे काम करते हैं, यह इससे पता चलता है कि शाम को 7 बजे सप्लीमेंटरी लिस्ट आ रही है । Is this how the Government is functioning? Did the Minister not know earlier that he has to make a Statement? The Government time is normally up to 5 o'clock and we are getting this Supplementary List of Business at 7 o'clock.

(Interruptions)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदया, यह एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल नं. 6 1730 करोड़ रुपयों का है ।

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I only request that we do not adjourn the House unless we finish the discussion on the report of the Economic Advisory Council.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am here to discuss anything.

SHRI PA WAN KUMAR BANSAL: Because of their intervention, ten minutes have already been wasted only on this. *(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ahluwalia, please.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : मैं वही कर रहा हूं । आप नहीं शुरू करने दे रही हैं ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't put allegations on the Chair. Please withdraw your words.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : मैडम, आपका ध्यान किसी और तरफ लगा हुआ है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; I say, you withdraw your words. I have had enough of everybody. I say you withdraw your words.

SHRI S, S. AHLUWALIA: I withdraw.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't put allegations on the Chair. It is you people who are not agreeing to anything. Let me put it on record. Withdraw your words.

SHRI S. S, AHLUWALIA: I have already withdrawn Madam. But...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jagesh Desai gets up and says, we will have the business tomorrow. Everybody agrees. And then you put the allegation on the Chair. I am sitting here for the whole night. You talk as much as you like.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : हम लोग भी तैयार हैं ।

उपसभापति : आप चुप रहिये ।

[The Deputy Chairman]

You cannot take the Chair for granted. You cannot just cast any aspersions on the Chair. It is enough.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR (Uttar Pradesh): He did not mean any disrespect to you, Madam.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I addressed you thrice. You never responded.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: He is again persisting, Madam.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Don't provoke me. You will be in trobule.

उपसभापति महोदया, एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल नंबर 6 जो 1730 करोड़ 20 लाख रुपये का है और इसके साथ साथ 830 करोड़ 15 लाख रुपये का जो ब्यौरा अभी वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने दिया है, उसको देखकर कुछ ऐसा लगता है कि अभी कुछ दिन पहले जब यह नेशनल फ्रंट सरकार बनी तो दूरदर्शन पर मैं प्रधान मंत्री महोदय का भाषण सुन रहा था जब उन्होंने कहा कि तिजोरी खाली है । कुछ दिन बाद वित्त मंत्री महोदय का एक स्टेटमेंट अखबार में पढ़ने को आया । इसमें इन्होंने तिजोरियां खाली होने की बात नहीं कही है पर फिर अफसोस हुआ . . (व्यवधान) . . मेरे पास अखबार की कटिंग है मौका मिलेगा तो दिखाऊंगा ।

प्रो. मधु दण्डवते : मैंने कहा था ?

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : आप ही ने कहा । या तो कन्ट्राडिक्शन है आपका ।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Excuse me. The words that have come, the coffers are empty, is a statement made in a picturesque way. It has not to be taken physically. It is an under-staterrsent because we have a debt of the order of Rs. 80, 000 crores. The situation is much worse. That is what I said.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : इसके साथ-साथ कल जब दूरदर्शन पर एक प्रोग्राम देख रहा था तो डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर उर्फ ताऊ का एक प्रोग्राम आ रहा था । उसमें उन्होंने कहा कि खजाना खाली छोड़कर चले गये हैं, हम काम कैसे करेंगे । इस वक्त जब कि हर सरकार का एक नियम है, भारत में जो भी सरकार आती है फरवरी के महीने में उसका एक बजट पेश होता है । अखबारों में आने लगा है कि इस बार का बजट जो है वह अप्रैल महीने में पेश किया जायेगा और इसी एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल के साथ जो कि सर्वदा फोर्थ क्वार्टर में आता है, उसमें कुछ और रुपये जोड़कर पूरा हिसाब लगाया गया कि अप्रैल तक सरकार कैसे चलेगी । अगर खजाना वाकई खाली था, अगर तिजोरियां वाकई खाली थीं तो इन एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल को लाने की क्या जरूरत पड़ी । यह एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल जो पिछली सरकार ने बनाकर रखा हुआ था तो इस पैसे का भी कहां से आप जुगाड़ करेंगे, जैसा इम्प्रेशन आपने भारत की जनता को दिया है कि खजाना खाली है । महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूं कि भारत सरकार क्या मोदी-खाना है या कोई मोदी की दुकान है जहां एक कैश बाक्स होता है और एक तिजोरी पड़ी होती है । जो भी आदमी उसका मालिक बनता है वह उस तिजोरी को खोलता है और उसमें जो सोने के सिक्के पड़े होते हैं उनको जनता में बांटता है । ऐसा नहीं है । परन्तु यह इम्प्रेशन भारत की जनता को दिया गया है कि शायद नार्थ ब्लाक और साऊथ ब्लाक में बड़ी बड़ी तिजोरियां पड़ी हुई थीं उनकी चाबी का गुच्छा जब वी.पी. सिंह को मिला और मधु दण्डवते जी को मिला उनको खोल कर देखा तो वह तिजोरियां खाली थीं । पड़े परेशान हुए, यह स्टेटमेंट देने को मजबूर हुए कि तिजोरियां खाली थीं । अगर तिजोरियां खाली थीं तो आज यह सरकार चलाने की कैसी हिम्मत है, यह पैसा कहां से आ रहा है ?

श्री कमल मोरारका : नासिक से आ रहा है ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : वह तो आप छाप लेंगे । आप पहले भी

कह चुके हैं कि घर घर में आप रिजर्व बैंक खोल देंगे। ताऊ जी ने कहा है कि हरियाणा में घर घर में नोट छापने की मशीन दूंगा।

श्री कमल मोरारका : पांच साल में आपने कितने छापे, उनके आंकड़े दीजिए, (व्यवधान)

प्रो० मधु दंडवते : आंकड़ों के साथ कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है फाइनेंस का, इन के कहने से ऐसा लगता है (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : महोदया, यह आंकड़ों की बात करते हैं। मधु दण्डवते जी ने एक स्टेटमेंट दिया जिस में कहा कि देश की आन की कीमत पर कर्ज नहीं लेंगे और बड़े बड़े भाषण दिये गये कि साहब इस मुल्क को विदेशी ताकतों के हाथ बेच दिया कांग्रेस सरकार ने। 68831 करोड़ रुपये का विदेशी कर्ज है (व्यवधान)

श्री कमल मोरारका : एक लाख करोड़ का है।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उसके साथ साथ एन०आर०आई० डिपोजिट्स का भी हिसाब जोड़ कर एक लाख करोड़ बना दिया। मैं आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूं कि इस मुल्क की 83 करोड़ जनता को कम से कम बतायें कि यह एन.आर.आई. कौन हैं और इन्होंने भारत में क्यों पैसा डिपोजिट्स किया है, किसी जर्मन ने डिपोजिट किया है, किसी अमरीकन ने डिपोजिट किया, किसी चाइनीज ने डिपोजिट किया? यह बतायें कि एन०आर०आईज० ने इसलिए दिया अपने मुल्क के लिए वह नान रेजीडेंट इंडियन हैं और वह बाहर के मुल्कों में जो पैसा कमाते हैं वह अपने मुल्क की उन्नति के लिए डवलपमेंट के लिए लगाना चाहते हैं। यह एन०आर०आई० की जो स्कीम है हमारी नेत्री स्वर्गीय श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने शुरू की थी। उसको सही रूप राजीव गांधी ने दिया। एन०आर०आई० डिपोजिट्स से आज मुल्क में जो कारखाने लगाने की बात है, एन०आर०आई० डिपोजिट्स से मुल्क में डवलपमेंट होने की बात सोची जा रही थी विफल करने की पीछे बहुत कोशिश की गई। इतना ही नहीं आज उस रुपये को इस विदेशी कर्ज को इस रूप में पेश किया जा रहा है जैसे यह एक लाख करोड़ रुपया शायद कोई शरबत के गिलास में पड़ा हुआ था और राजीव गांधी उसे पी गये हैं। महोदया, यह रुपया एक दिन में विदेशी कर्ज नहीं हुआ। यह रुपया यह जो बी० एच० ई० एल० खड़ा है, दुर्गापुर स्टील प्लांट, भिलाई स्टील प्लांट, राउरकेला स्टील प्लांट खड़े है, भारत एल्युमिनियम खड़ा है, बंडेल का थर्मल पावर स्टेशन खड़ा है, बोकारो स्टील प्लांट खड़ा है, भाखड़ा नंगल डेम खड़ा है और हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े-बड़े डेम और एटोमिक थर्मल पावर स्टेशन यहां खड़े हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री दीपेन घोष (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : और अहलुवालिया जी खड़े हैं।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : अहलुवालिया भी इसी का है। समझने की कोशिश कीजिये। दिमाग को बताइये कि यह पैसे कोई शरबत का गिलास नहीं था जसको कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने पी लिया है। यह विदेशी कर्ज इन प्रोजेक्ट्स के अगेंस्ट लिये गये थे और यह प्रोजेक्ट्स बनाये गये। इन प्रोजेक्ट्स में यह आज जो रूलिंग पार्टी में लोग बैठे हैं इन्हीं के बच्चे हमारे भाई और बच्चे काम करते हैं। आज अपने मुल्क की बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान ढूंढने के लिये बड़ी-बड़ी बातें कर रहे हैं। परन्तु क्या आप चाहते हैं कि यह जो विदेशी कर्जे लिये गये थे वह इन कारखानों में न लगें? आज तक हम ये पुराने कारखाने जितने भी लगे हैं उन पर जो विदेशी कर्जा लगा हुआ है उसको उतार नहीं सके हैं। वह आज तक है और हम उतार रहे हैं, और नये-नये कर्जे और लिये जा रहे हैं, और कारखानें बनाये जा रहे हैं। इस सरकार ने आते ही दो मैसेज बाजार में छोड़े एक छोड़ा कि तिजोरियां खाली हैं, दूसरा छोड़ा कि विदेशी कर्जे सिर पर चढ़े हुये हैं। इनसे कोई पूछे कि आखिर इन विदेशी कर्जों से हमारे मुल्क में क्या असेट्स क्रीएट हुये हैं, इसका ब्यौरा जरा दें कि एक लाख

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया]

करोड़ का जो हिसाब दे रहे हैं कि यह विदेशी कर्जा है – मैं आपके माध्य से मांग करता हूं कि इस पर विचार करने के पहले यह भी बतायें कि इस एक लाख करोड़ से हिंदुस्तान में कितने कारखाने लगाये गये और उन कारखानों में कितने बेरोजगारों को नौकरियां दी गयीं और उन कारखानों से कितने लोगों के परिवार चलते हैं । यह भी जरा बताने की कोशिश करें । जब यह बताने के लिये आप नीचे आयेंगे तो उस वक्त आपका दिमाग सही होगा कि एक लाख करोड़ रुपया कहां गया, तब साफ नजर आयेगा कि एक लाख करोड़ रुपया कहां लगाया गया । महोदया, इन चीजों को सोचने की जरूरत है और आज हमारे हिन्दुस्तान को डीस्टेब्लाइज करने के लिये तरह-तरह के कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं । आज जो विदेश कर्जों की बात करते हैं इनकी तारीफ करने वाले अमेरिका के एम्बेसडर, उन्होंने आज से 20 दिन पहले क्या कहा, कि अमेरिका द्वारा सुपर 301 के अन्दर जो एड देना बन्द करवाने की कोशिश की थी, उसको विदड्रा कर लिया जाये । 301 के माध्यम से जो व्यापार हिन्दुस्तान से करना था, उसे बन्द कर दिया गया था, आज उसके लिये कह रहे हैं कि उसे खोल दिया जाये क्योंकि जो नया प्रधान मंत्री हुआ है वह हमारी कामनाओं को पूरा कर सकता है, हमारे कहने पर चल सकता है, वह किसी और छोटे मुल्क से कर्जा नहीं लेगा क्योंकि यह कर्जा सिर्फ अमेरिका का नहीं है, इसमें कर्जा रूस का भी है, जापान का भी है, जर्मनी का भी है, यू०के० का भी है । ये काबुलीवाले अपनी दुकान जमाने के लिये तरह तरह से प्रचार करते हैं और तरह तरह के देश पर दवाब डाले गये हैं कि कर्जा मुझसे लो, मैं तुम्हें सस्ती दर पर दूंगा । अगर तुम नहीं लेने पर तैयार होते हो तो तुम्हें मैं दायें से, बायें से, आगे से पीछे से मजबूर करूंगा कि तुम मुझसे मजबूर होकर कर्जा लो और ये ही कोशिशें हैं हमें मजबूर करने के लिये । आज उसका सही परिणाम मिला कि आज से 4 दिन पहले जब हम पनामा के खिलाफ–वहां अमेरिका ने जो आक्रमण किया था–– उसके खिलाफ एक रिजोल्यूशन पास कराना चाहते थे तो उस वक्त ह्यूमन राइट के बड़े-बड़े भाषण देने वाले लोग भी व्यर्थ हो गये और चुपचाप बैठकर अमेरिका के प्रति वफादारी दिखाने के लिये एक माइल्ड सा रिजोल्यूशन पास कर दिया । आक्रमण को आक्रमण नहीं कहा, क्यों, क्योंकि अमेरिका के प्रति वफादारी दिखानी थी । सुपर 301 के माध्यम से और कुछ व्यापार करना था, जिन विदेशियों से हम कर्जा लेते हैं और वे अमेरिकन लाबी में नहीं पड़ते हैं तो उनसे कर्जा लेना बन्द करके इनका कर्जा लेना शुरू करना था । कभी कभी डेट ट्रेप की बात कही जाती है । डेट ट्रेप के बारे में हम विचार करें तो जरा देखें कि जिस लैटिन अमेरिकन कंट्रीज में डेट ट्रेप की बात सोच रहे हैं वे आज 70 परसेंट प्लस के करीब हैं और आपके हिन्दुस्तान में कितने परसेंट प्लस का कर्जा है । प्रोफेसर साहब ज्ञानी है, वे विपक्ष में बैठकर बहुत कुछ सीखे हैं और बहुत कुछ सीख सकते हैं । आज वित्त मंत्री हैं भारत के, कम से कम ये आंकड़े तो बतायें जनता को, जनता को थोड़ा जागरूक करें, सिर्फ ये भोंडी सी बात कहकर कि तिजोरी खाली थी, अधूरी बात करके कि विदेशी कर्जों से दब गये हैं, जनता को भड़काने की कोशिश मत करें । जनता के सेंटीमेंटस से खिलवाड़ मत करें और इन चीजों को सामने क्लियर करें । मैं अपना वक्तव्य खत्म करने से पहले फिर मांग करता हूं कि और इन चीजों को क्लियर करें कि एक लाख करोड़ कर्जा जो है उससे हिन्दुस्तान में क्या-क्या असेट क्रियेट किये गये हैं और उनसे कितने बेकार, बेरोजगार लोगों को नौकरियां मिली हैं और कितने लोगों को उनसे रोजी मिलती है और उन बांधों को बांधने से कितने इरिगेशन केनाल खोले गये हैं, कितनी जगह अच्छी खेती की जा सकती है, जहां पानी नहीं था, वहां पानी की व्यवस्था की जा सकती है, बिजली की व्यवस्था की है, रोड कम्युनिकेशन किया है, टेलीफोन उपलब्ध किया है और पावर प्रोजेक्ट्स लगाये हैं । इन सारी चीजों का भी ब्यौरा दें ।

मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि प्रोफेसर साहब कम से कम 83 करोड़ जनता के साथ

वफादारी करेंगे, गैर-वफादारी करके यह न बताने की जुर्रत न करेंगे ।

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Madam, normally, I would not speak much on the Appropriation Bill. But the speaker from the Congress Party has not spoken on the Appropriation Bill, but has gone on to the larger debate on the economic situation today and has converter it into a debate on the Report of the Economic Advisory Council. I am prepared to enter into that debate right now and would specifically deal with some of the points that he has raised.

The first point that he has made and which he kept on repeating throughout his speech was regarding the statement of the Finance Minister that the, previous Government has left the coffers empty. I am surprised and astonished that they should object to that statement for two reasons. The first reason is an equitable reason, They are saying the same thing about the Karnataka. Government. Now, it they are objecting to that, phrase, they should firsthold their own party responsible which is using the same phrase in connection with the Karnataka State Government and Andhra Pradesh State Government. They must understand that there is a basic difference between a State Government and a Central Government. The difference is that the Central Government can take recourse to deficit financing and print currency notes; the State Government cannot do so. The State Government can only create overdraft with the Reserve Bank. Now in the last two years, the Central Government has been very strict and has not been allowing State Governments to take over draft beyond a point. In fact the Karnataka Government came into a payment crisis because of the strictness of the Reserve Bank. Now I am not one of those who are against financial discipline. I recommend financial discipline. But the yardstick must be applied uniformly. You connot tell the State Government, whose source of resources is limited, "that they have left the coffers empty that they are not able to meet; the payments, so their fin-nancial management is not good and at the same time you do not apply the same yardstick to the perfrom-anee, of your own Government at the centre, which has a much bigger responsibility 'towards the country.

The second point where you are totally wrong is this. If you see the financial picture of the Central Government as" you have left it, the picture is, to, describe it very mildly, dismal. The country belongs to all of us. In all my previous speeches on the Finance Bills, "and Appropriation Bills, I have always tried to keep the discussion above party politics. Apparently, I think that era has ended- From the first speech on financial matters after the new Government came to power. I see, that you, want to convert the debate on, Finance, Ministry also into a political; one, I wish to inform my friends on the other side that we are ready fo$_r$ it.

SHRI' PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Your Finance Minister has begun that way.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: probably I can excuse Mr. Ahluwalia. I do. not. think he. is a financial expert. He went on saying that an impression has been created as if this debt of one lakh crores which has been created has been swallowed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. I do not know who has said it. There is one Member from our side who is used to making such irresponsible statements. Such statements must have been made by some Member of their own party. Nobody from this side talks like that. Except in the case of Bofors, I do not think any Member of the Opposition has made any personal charge against your Prime Minister. As far as foreign debt is concerned everybody knows that this is a debt created over a long period. What we are objecting- to is financial mismanagement, not misappropriation. We are not alleging misappropriation on the

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Part of your leader, but it is gross financial mismanagement. That is what we are saying.

Mr. Ahluwalia wanted to know this. He named a number of projects. It pleased my heart to see that none of those projects mentioned by Mr Ahluwalia was put up after 1980. He mentioned Bhakra Nangal, Durgapur, Bhilai, Bokaro. He mentioned all the projects which were put up before 1980. I tell you why I am choosing 1980 because in 1980 your external debt was one-fifth, I repeat, one-fifth of the foreign debt today. Your Government has increased the debt to five, six, seven times in ten years. I say with all the authority at my command that there can be no economic justification "Tor increasing the debt seven times. No employment generation has taken place to that extent. No new project has come into existence. 1 go a step further. Most of the debts created in the last seven years are by private commercial borrowing. It has not gone even to the public sector. The country has gone and contracted debts which, by any principle of economics, was totally unjustified. This is what I would like to call "the typical TV-Maruti-Pepsi Cola Culture. " That is where the money has gone. It is not a question of somebody swallowing the money, but it is certainly a question of somebody squandering the money. The nation's debt has been squandered. I would very much like Mr. Jagesh Desai to repudiate what I am saying. I have got figures on what I am talking.

We, on this side, most of us, have great regard for the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956. We have never said that the public sector should not have the commanding heights. We have never said that the socio-economic transformation should be privalised. All those words have come in the Indian politico-economic lexicon only in the last five years. In the last five years we have been hearing all these words, "privatisation", "foreign technology", "hightech". All these words we are hearing. What comes out of the hi-tech is Pepsi Cola. That is the only return of the hi-tech. The IBM has not come to India.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Are you going to continue with or cancel the Pepsi Cola?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA; I am not the Finance Minister. I aim not the Industry Minister.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Then don't reply to the points.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Madam, I seek your protection.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Your present Prime Minister is also responsible for the financial mismanagement. You have to agree to it.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: What kind of a concept of a debate they have if they do not want to deal with their points? This is not a seminar for speech-making. This is a debating House. I think Madam, there should be an orientation course in parliamentary proceedings.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY; Mr. Morarka, I konw better than you the parliamentary procedure. I would like to know a point of information, whether Mr. V. P. Singh who is the former Finance Minister, is, according to you, responsible for the financial mismanagement or not.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Mr. V. P. Singh was the Finance Minister who faithfully followed the policies of the then Prime Minister under whom he was working. That is the political form of democracy. Mr. Dandavate will have to follow the policies of the Prime Minister, Shri V. P. Singh.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: When he comes out, you accuse him for the

same policy. I am putting a question to you.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Madam, can this debate go on like this?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA; Madam, the next point Mr. Ahluwalia raised is this. He wanted the figures. of Rs. 1 lakh crores which is referred to as foreign debt, he wanted to know the figures on how much employment has been created and where it has been employed. Again, Madam, Mr. Ahluwalia does not understand these figures. What he wants can never be produced because Rs. 1 lakh crores consists of debts, interest accrued on those debts. Probably you can find out, when originally a loan was taken, to whom it was given within the country. But how much employment that particular loan has generated, that is a kind of economics which only their party understands. This is beyond any economist to produce the figures Mr. Ahluwalia wants.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA; Mr. Morarka, you are an industrialist.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: In the rest of his speech, Mr. Ahluwalia started talking about Super 301 and Panama. I do not know whether it has anything to do with Appropriation. I am perfectly willing to deal with his point on home ground. About Super 301 there is absolutely no contradiction. Somebody brings a statement from somewhere saying that an Am-assador has said something about Mr. V. P. Singh. They raise it in this House, and they raise it in the other House. "And what is that newspaper?, Some *India Abroad*. I think that *India Abroad* is a newspaper connected with somebody whom they know. It has got no relevance and the Prime Minister has to keep on denying the statement It is not even a statement by the American Ambassador. "It is reported that an American Ambassador feels that the Prime Minister will... " What kind of a thing is this? I have never heard this and they go on talking about this! On "Behalf of the National Front let us make it very clear there are certain things which are accepted as national policies and non-alignment is one of them. Please do not start taking credit for non-alignment. Jawaharlal Nehru authored this. Jawaharlal Nehru did not belong to you. If Jawaharlal was alive today, he would have been sitting on this side of the House. Please don't defile the memory Of that great man in this way. In the centenary year of Jawaharlal Nehru, please spare him the agony. If he knew that his party has been taken over by such elements he would be turning in his grave. I fail to understand the logic of all this. But since there was so much of hell and fury on this matter, I want to put the record straight that as far as the Government's policies towards super powers ar$_e$ concerned...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Let the Minister do it.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: The Minister will do it at the appropriate time. I am good enough for Mr. Ahluwalia. The Government of India will continue to follow the policies of non-alignment as enshrined in various documents to which we have been a party.

As regards Panama, I don't know how it comes into this. It can be dealt with at any other stage. You can have a debate on Panama and we are prepared to have it anywhere they want.

Coming to this Appropriation Demand of Rs. 1730 crores, most of the expenditure has been committed by the previous Government. We have been left with the unhappy choice of bringing this to the House for approval. We have no choice. We cannot cut down the expenses today. We cannot do anything. Today we have to get the forma] approval of Parliament to implement what has been left to us as a lagacy.

Since we are on the economic subject, I want to make a few suggestions to the Finance Minister and I want

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my friends on the Opposite side to understand, what they have done which pan he easily avoided and what they could have done which they have not done. Profligacy can be avoided. It is a poor country. The Prime Minister of this country need not go in Boeing 747 plane and have another one standing for him. It is not re-quired.

SHRI V- NARAYANASAMY: What about the Deputy Prime Minister When he went to Madras? You are telling about the expenses by the previous Government, when you had special plane to attend a private mar: riage of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, (Interruptions)

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Now 1 come to the next point. I can do no better than to quote the Ninth Finance Commission. I am sure they cannot say that the Ninth Finance Commission document has been prepared by us, because It was presented in July 1988 and it is a constitutional body. Mr. Salve is the Chairman. I want to refresh your memory. The Finance Commission says that the objective of not only balancing the receipts and expenditure and revenue account of both the States and the Centre, but also to channel the surpluses for capital investment placed before us In the terms of reference can only be a distant goal—and this is the crucial sentence—but eliminating the revenue deficits as early as possible is an absolute fiscal imperative. " I do not know if anybody understands this. If you understand this, by this itself you must understand that coffers are empty. If we are spending more than what we are earning the coffers are empty. There are no surpluses. So I do not understand what is their objection to the phrase "coffers are empty". Ma. dam, Mr. Salve goes on to add that "only till 1981-82"— the year is important—"both the Centre and the States had surplus in revenue accounts. " Till 1981-82 coffers Were not empty. The cofftrs have become empty only after 1981-82. In the last 8 years the coffers have become empty due to. the profligacy of the Central Government, due to the financial mismanagement, due to inadequacy in the buoyancy of taxation due to a heap of reasons which I can go en and on. But coming back to the central point, Mr Ahluwalia must understand that the phrase "coffers are empty" if at all, is an understatement of the year. I would recommend to Prof, Dandavate to come out with the figures that coffers are not only empty, not only we have scratched the bottom but we are borrowing money and fooling ourselves that the coffers are full, spending that money, printing the money, again borrowing the money; what we are doing is immense profligacy...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: 1 have anticipated your suggestion and made a similar statement earlier.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Thank you.

S1JRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): The inflation rate will not be 6 per cent. Please understand that.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: That is, the other point which again Mr. Jagesh Desai has raised. I would like to answer it.

There has been a lot of talk that all this is for growth and after all money is required for growth. Now, it is nobody's case that the country has not grown in the last ten years. Nobody has said that thing. But we want to have two answers. The growth has benefited whom? That is number ope. Then, number two, growth at what cost? These are the two answers I want to know. The cost that the country had to pay for this growth is absolutely beyond any proportion.

SHRI p. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat): You must make us sit on that ■ side for the purpose of getting the answer.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA; I wish you best of luck at the next elections.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka); Why are you raising all these questions when you are not getting answers irom us?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Because you don't have any answer.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will, give you the time.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I am an optimist but not that much of an opttimist to expect answers from them.

Madam, I want- to put on record. I will give- a set of figures. Since Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan is here, I would very much like her. to • listen so that she can reply to me cogently. I will give just two sets of figures. It will not take much time so that I can make it clear to Mr. Jagesh Desai and Mr. Ahluwalia. The two figures relate to 1934-85 when their Government came to power and 1988-89 when they have given up power So these five years they had their regime. What happened in these five years? Madam, the country's GDP has gone up by 14. 37 per cent in real terms—the figures are herefrom Rs. 1, 48., 955 crores to Rs. 1, 70, 363 crores. The per capita GDP has gone up from Rs.. 1701 to Rs. 1918. That it only 7. 09 per cent. Well, the population also has gone up. So the increase in GDP is 7 per cent. At what cost? Now. Mr. " Jagesh Desai will kindly with me.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Tomorrow I will answer that.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: The money supply in the same period has gone up by 86. 24 per cent. The total money supply to the public in five years has gone up by 86. 24 per cent. Now, for anybody who understands economics here is the answer for most of -the ills that the country is facing today.

Another parameter is balance of payments. There was a lot of talk.

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| "So what? If we have taken debts, l we have created employment opport-j unities. We have got production. The growth is rapid. Our children will work; there. Our grand children will j work there. " Now please see the *m*-J suits. The balance of payments in the current account used to be minus Rs. 2852 crores when they took over and j when they have left, it. is minus Rs. 7, 400 crores. The current account deficit has gone up three times. Now if by any stretch of imagination, somebody is making me believe that in five years we have had a land of milk and honey and everybody has got employment and poverty has vanished, well I ana sorry, I do not think that kind of perception can be shared by anyone *(Interruption).*

SHRI JAGESH DESAI; I can just now mention as to what were ■ the figures in 1977-78. Poverty line has gone up.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: No, no. What Mr. Desai is. saying is right, - The number of people above the poverty" line has dramatically increased but not because the people have done well but the poverty line has been brought down. What they have done is wonderful. I have no objection. It is like a graph. Previously the poverty line- was at a particular place on a graph. So we said, so many people are above the poverty line. Now suddenly the number of people has Increased net because the people have been benefited but we have just redrawn the line. That is exactly what the Planning Commission has done. That is exactly what the previous Finance Ministry has done and this will be corrected in the next *six* months. The picture will be dismal.. Let me tell my friends on the other side. Let us not be under any illusion. And a change of Government cannot change economics overnight. No amount of my speech-making or Mr. Ahluwalia's argument can make one-rupee' into two rupees. That is not possible. The. resources are limited. But what this Government can do is

[Shri Kamal Morarka]

to stop borrowing indiscriminately, to . use the money judiciously, to stop making wasteful expenditure, to reorient the financial institutions and banks to a constructive purpose- for which they are meant. Projects should not be sanctioned in a hurry- Projects whose employment potential is doubtful, project whose benefit to the country is doubtful, should not be taken up. Prof. Thakur is here. I am glad that he will open the debate on the economic report. I would like him to deal with this. In my opinion, he is a Nehruvian. Let him tell me that the resources employed in ihe last five years had been utilised in the most optimal way. The foreign exchange resources have been frittered away for what we now call elitist consumerism. ' Whatever growth has taken place, epen the 7 per cent growth has not benefited the poor man. 7 per cent is the average. The rich have become much richer. The upper sections have done well. Therefore, in the net result the poor man is at his wits'end. His per capita income lias gone down and un-employment has increased. The live registers of employment exchanges show, in the whole year out of the 3 orores people in the employment exchanges how much employment has been given—27, 000 only. Can you believe it? It is unbelievable. It has never happened in history. There is a reason. Because their-investment Is going for computers, their investment is going for automation. 'With, all that, *we* cannot create employment. Wa *can* only create an image that there is a big growth but none of that growth really percolates to the people. Madam, I do not wish to take much time of the House on the Appropriation Bill. Well, I will speak on the Economic Report tomorrow and. therefor for the time being, this much is enough for them to digest.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Rameshwar Thakur. Do you want to speak on this?

SHRI. RAMESHWAR THAKUR (Bihar); Madam, I will speak on the Economic Report.

SHRI KAPILVERMA (Uttar Pradesh); Madam, as I said earlier, I would be very brief. Madam, for any developing country, foreign debt

j is necessary, loans Irom other countries are necessary. Our records show • as also the international agencies have said, we are very good pay masters and we have a very good record for . paying back not only" the capital but the loan instalments and interest also. The Finance Minister has said in the morning that the IMF loans will be stopped. I will like him. to tell the House in what manner, he is going *to* meet the axiute deficit in balance of payment position and I will also like to know—since Super-301 has been mentioned by both the sides—I will ask him whether you have the same policy on this subject as the previous Government had or in any 8 M. p. manner, you are going to change it. I am only mentioning a few points. Journalists' pension is connected With the Government also since you have the report of the working group on the pension -scheme of journalists. Prof. Madhu is a sympathiser of journalists and some others sitting on the'other side also understand the problem. I would like to know from the Govern-

I ment as a whole why they are sitting idle on that scheme. Immediately a decision should be taken so that some relief is brought to the suffering journalist community, particularly to those who are retiring. Madam, I crave your indulgence to say al few word3 how about another important thing because I am afraid, I would have no opportunity tomorrow. There is serious unrest among the journalist community all over the country. Since this is something non-controversial, I am mentioning it. Both sides of the House are interested in it. In Delhi itself, hundreds of employees working journalists and non-journalists courted arrest yesterday. Even the 'Times of India' which is supposed to be the biggest newspaper of Indi*.

the wealthiest newspaper of India, has announced a grade which is much lower than what the journalists are entitle to under the Wage Board. In fact, the Bachawat Committee recommendations are not being implemented at all in the country, except in two or three papers. I want to tell you that in 1859, when Jawaharlal Nehru brought in the wage board and its report came the same conditions prevailed. Jawaharlal Nehru appointed a Sub-Committee of the Cabinet under the chairmanship of Pandit Gobind Vallabh Pant. And Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, called both the sides, the employers and the employees, discussed the problem and arrived at a solution to the problem. May I request the Cabinet and the Government to , take similar steps? The Session is ending tomorrow and tomorrow, we will not have the opportunity again. So, I shall request you to appoint a Committee which may call representatives of all the employers and employees and solve this problem because this problem is going to create a serious unrest in the newspaper industry in the country. Tomorrow a-protest day is going to be observed all over the country by journalists and . there will be agitation all over the country. This will affect everybody. You are equally interested in journa-lists, I am sure. And our Deputy Chairman has been particularly help-full in advancing our cause and every time, she has heen helping us.

Then there is the 'Indian Express' lock-out. The Prime Minister has made' some promise, the Labour Minister hag also made some promise. But the illegal lock-out has not been lifted and the Government, unfortunately. has not taken any decision so far. I hope the Government will be kind enough to immediately intervene. Some, kind of action must be taken to dear the lock-out. The main demand *is* the fulfilment of the demands of the 'Indian Express' because it is. spreading all over the country, not only i« Delhi. The Session is ending tomorrow. Something must be done immediately and you must announce some decision tomorrow. In fact, journalists are looking to the new Government with great expectations. If you allow me brutal frankness, I will tell you, your bona fides as a sympathiser of the working class are to be tested on this issue. This is acid test, litmus test, of how you deal with the 'Indian Express', how you deal with the demands of not only of the 'Indian Express' but of the 'Times of India' and other Indian newspapers because they are very big people, rich and influential and we are very smalt, people. Jawaharlal Nehru helped us.

' At that time, Jawaharlal Nehru was a great ally of newspapermen., Now, we want to. see whether you are on our side or on the other side. Please hurry up before it is too late. Thank you.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI ("Andhra' Pradesh); Madam, there is nothing much to say on this Appropriation Bill.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Even after Mr. Morarka made a long speech,, you say that there is nothing much to say on this?, • • •

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI; Even after Mr. Ahluwalla's speech, there is . nothing much to say.

Madam, I have every sympathy for the Finance Minister who has to cope with the balance of payments, and other tragedies that have been brought about _by the* previous Government on'the economic front. But, at the same time, I would like to add one thing. As far as the subsidy on imported fertilizers is concerned, I do not understand one thing. In spite of heavy subsidies, the cost of fertilizer is so High when compared , to the cost of the agricultural produce that our farmer is compelled to pay five times more of his produce as compared to his counterpart in Japan to get the same quantity of. fertilizer. Our farmer is compelled to pay more than a—1/2 times of has. produce to

[Dr. Yelamanchili Sivaji]

get the same quantity of fertilizer as his counterpart in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The honourable Finance Minister and the Government may examine this point and see tint the Indian farmer gets the fertilizer at the same rate as his counterpart-, in Japan and other neighbouring countries. As far as tobacco, cotton and other agricultural products are concerned, Cash Compensatory-Support is announced every time at the fag end of the year and it is being retrospectively implemented so much so that the trader gets the benefit and not the farmer. The farmer never gets this benefit. So, I hope that the Finance Minister will come forward'with another Supplementary Demand for the farming community in the near future and will not add further to their problems, but will take up their issue. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH (Maharashtra): Madam, Deputy chairman, I seek your permission to indulge in a Certain leeway, to take advantage of a certain leeway which is allowed to us as Members.

Whenever the Budget or the Appropriation Bill is taken up for discussion here, I bring to" the notice of the House a matter which is very close to my heart and that is' the issue of reraming the city of Bombay as Mumbai. Unfortunately, it is still called as Bombay and I feel it is totally wrong. I have said this on numerous occasions in this House and 1 take this opportunity once again to repeat that it is about time it was renamed. The original name of MUM-bai is there even in the original deed when it was transferred...

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SlNGH:... by the Portuguese.

SHRI VISHVJIT p. SlNGH:... by the Portuguese and even from the time of Catherine Braganza it was referred to as Mumbai and it has been called as Stunhai only, it is named after

j the Goddess of the fisherfolk Mumbai Ayi", that is, "Mumba Devi

Mother Mumba". I feel that when j other cities of the world—forget about | our renaming our own cities—are

being renamed when more and pore j cities of the world have been renamed, j this also should be renamed. • Now, j -Peking' has become 'Beijing' and the j whole world - accepts it nOw and we j call it as Beijing. i

SHRI KAMAL. "MORARKA: The Shiv Sena wants if.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SlNGH: Pto-| bably that is the only good thing that the Shiv Sena wants, 1 think,

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil' Nadu): At least you. are paying them ' some tribute now. *

j SHRI VISHVJIT P. SlNGH: It is because the fact is that nobody is all bad and nobody is all good. There is no such thing as wholly black or • wholly white,

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Any new alliance is coming up?

-SHRI VISHVJIT P. SlNGH: No new alliances. Don't take it that way, Kamal. Madam, this man, who is a friend of mine, is very very difficult to deal with on the floor *al* this House and I can say that. But onte. again I repeat this demand and I hope that the Government takes note of this demand. Once again. I say that this House should be unanimous in this. The honourable Minister of Finance is sitting here and I would like him to join me in this. I would like him to join me for saying: Yes, we will rename Bombay by 'Mumbai', which is its original name, so that, we can be proud of it once again. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How can the Finance Minister do it? The Finance Minister can allocate more 'funds for re-naming it. But he cannc-t re-name it. It is for the State Government. Mr. T. It. Balii.

SHRI T. R. BALU {Tamil Nadu): Maoam, I am to support th© Appropriation Bill amounting to Rs. 1730. 36 crofees wrhich has been brought before this august House by our hon. Finance Minister. Before going into the subject, I wish to congratulate our Prime Minister and his colleagues for having taken up measures for the iroplemsntation of our programmes and. policies of the Election Manifesto of the National Front. I think our Prime Minister" would have been dis-appointed when he understood that the coffers of the Government were empty. But it is not that the present Government is insolvent. But I would say thai the past Government was not solvent.

Madam when the then Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, took the reins of this Government, the debt service ' ratio wast 9. 2 per cent, the debt services amounting to Rs. 1100 crores. When he was thrown out of the chair, the debt, service ratio...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why do, you USE the words 'thrown out'? It is. not a. proper word.

SHRI T. R. ©ALU: Ali right, Madam: gone out of the chair. It was 23 pe. r cent, which amounts to Rs-' 7, 000 crores in terms of money as far a j debt. service is concerned. Madam, as per the economists, the permissible limit was 20 per cent, whereas Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his Government borrowed money from foreign coun tries to th-3 tune of Rs. 83, 000 crores. but at the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan definitely it should shoot *up* to Rs. 100, 000 erores, leading to' 3. 0 par ceat debt service ratio. Madam, what it mean is that one-third of the foreign exchange • revenue we ■ recei ved from foreign countries has been. utilized for the payment of interest not for developmental activities which would be very dangerous to our eco nomy. So it clearly shows their mds-ra)paagem«nt and their misdeeds and unprincipled dealing of economic aff-airs, .

Madam, coming to the deficit finan cing, they iiever cared about deficit financing. For example, during thp Seventh Five Year Plan the target fixed for deficit financing was Rs. 14, 000 crores, but only with a few months -to go for the completion of the Seventh Five Year Plan the deficit financing has crossed Rs. 30, 000 crores. ′, That is why we could riot check the inflationary pressure in our . economy. The previous Government accepted IMF loan without any sanc tity or any principle of economy. Which has made ever; - citizen of India bonded labourer. This is a challenge to our self-respect. Our Government, the National Front Government, *should not go in for IMF loans with certain conditions which would cripple our internal eco nomy and our self-respect. ■ Madam, before I conclude, I once again thank our National Front" Government' which has come forward -to reconstitute the Planning Commission, to. give status to the Planning Commission and to increase the strength of the Planning Commission with eminent persons from 3 to 11. In this connection, I would like to quote the Deputy Chair man of the Planning Commission. He says in his statement; . -

> "Apart from the Prime Minister who was Chairman of the Corranis-sion/the Deputy Prime, Minister and. the. Minister of' Finance will be included. There would be three Chief Ministers representing different parties who will hold office by rotation. In short, the whole effort will be to restore to development. its centrality in nation building and to do this by tying together diverse capacities and experiences into one common pool—at the Planning Commission in its relationship with various States and other forums and through independent initiatives and self-assertion of diverse entitles throughout the national fabric. "

In-this context, I would remind this House that the very object of elevating

. [Shri T. R. Balu]

the Planning Commission as a constitutional/institution or agency is only to regulate and streamline the process of planning -with the. participation of State Governments on definite principles. What I want to stress is that the participation of the State Governments in the process of planning is pivotal and imperative in a federal set-up. The-Planning Commission has proposed to include three or four Otiief Ministers by rotation. Therelbre, all the programmes and policies of the National Front will definitely go a long way in the process of nation building.

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): Madam, I am not going to dilate much after what Mr. Morarka has said. I will read out a written note..

The erstwhile Government have not handed over a state of the economy which can be called healthy. I am conscious that the new Governmmnt will have to act under severe strain! 1 hope that several supplementary grants like this will not be necessary henceforth. "The Sutlej-Yamuna Link Canal budget was 18 orores of rupees. There has been a recalculation of the costing because of the delay. Therefore, the revision of the cost estimate has gone up to 30 crores of rupees. There has been increase in the interest subsidy for export tariff. What are the results of exports? In spite of so many facilities given, exports are not sufficient to match our imports. So, there i_s imbalance in the balance of payment position. So much shortfall is the result. Our foreign exchange reserve is under severe losses. The earlier Government somehow managed by resorting *to borrowings*. This means more foreign debt which is now over "nearabout 100. 000 crores of rupees and involves huge debt services, Budgef deficit is of some 8000 crores of rupees. But how much is the credit from the Reserve Bank? Some 12000 crores of rupees. That is more than 50 per cent. So, the real deficit is much more than what was originally given by the erstwhile Government.. That "is how the last Government acted. Is it wrong, therefore, if one speaks of empty coffers? Unbridled inflationary, pressure is heavily experienced in prices of sugar, edible oils, textile, paper, etc. except some recent reduction in the sugar price. Consumer Price Index has certainly gone up. Common man is bearing the brunt. Measures have to be taken to change this course.

Coming to industry, the growth ie stated to be around" 9 per cent. There is buoyancy in the capital market as we find that whenever a company issues share capital, that is immediately subscribed. Where does the money - go because we" do not find more em-ployemnt generation?, * Otherwise, why have there been sharp increases in unemployment figuresT Industrialists do not *seem* to be attentive to this colossal national problem, except concentrating on their profits. Incidentally, I would like to mention aboot certain industries like Bengal potteries, certain industries like Bengal Potteries. Mohini Mills and Chittagong Paper Mills in West Bengal, which were taken over by the Government. But they have been withdrawn. As a result, money being spent on them for paying salaries as per court orders. But there IS no production. The Government must see to it that those industries are brought back to the original functioning position. There has been an immense expansion of currency as a result of inflationary situation. Instead of proposing how fiscal policies are to be recast, the Reserve Bank of India wants to arrest currency growth by containing the number of notes in circulation. From a size of 10 crore pieces of note in circulation as far back as in 1935, it has gone up to 1850 crore pieces. But ihe Reserve Bank of India, instead of opening more offices to deal with currency notes they are indulging in reckless destruction of soiled notes without scrutiny. Some years back,

instead of fully utilising the production capacity of our Mints, coins were imported in huge numbers at large cost. Now there Is a glut and, so, there is no storage capacity with the Reserve Bank of India. What assessment did the Reserve Bank make before going into the foreign market for getting coins? Similar is the position that we find in the case of currency notes. Again the Reserve Bank has proposed and the Govemment-*I am talking about the earlier Government — seems to have nodded to the printing of ihe notes abroad on the plea of inadequate domestic capacity. It is also like the coins' affair. There seems to be Some fancy with the Reserve Bank for'something foreign.

Now coming to the points at issue, We have to make some suggestions to the new Government to give priority, as far as some issues are cbncemed. Efforts should be made to contain the prtce level. The budget deficit should be reduced by avoiding wasteful expenditure. There should be developing o1 friendly relations with the neighbours instead of diplomatic acrimony and consequential fallout, * and thereby there should be a second look at the Defence expenditure.. And why should not there be a rise in the corporate taxes which wiil bring in more revenue? The trade liberalisation policies have been misu-tilised by avoidable imports. Emphasis should be given to bring to health sick and closed industries. There is the issue of jute *vis-a-vis* syntheic fibre. There are synthetic goods which have been substituted for just goods. That has to be given a second look. They should remove the regional imbalance in the economic growth and they should resort to more production of essentiarconsumer goods of common man than consumer durables. Now the Budget is coming. Employment generation programme should be given attention as we said earlier. Then the question comes of computerisation.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. Anybody who wants to speak can speak now. I would not give time tomorrow in lieu of not speaking today.

'SHRI ASHIs SEN. Madam, computerisation is another thing. I know Prof. Dandavate will Se$_e$to it that further more computerisation is not there.

Incidentally, though not relevant to the: issues proper, I may mention about certain banks. In the new Bank . of India, the Chairaman by name Mr. Suneja has been given extension despite adverse inspection report by the Reserve Bank. Same is the Case with the Punjab National Bank. The term of the Chairman by name Mr. Varshney is being extended though he has crosses 60. Both the Banks are also after a particular trade union, the BEFI The$_v$ are attacking, transferring and victimising them. There is the PNB's sponsored Sakahawai Grameen Bank. There even today a messenger is appointed on Rs. 2 per day. And he is supposed to carry on like that. This satte of affairs is going on.

Madam, I stop here. I do not take further time of the House.

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदया, मैं इस पूरक विधेयक के समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूं। एक बात का संकेत भारत के फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर को देना चाहता हूं। कि एक माननीय सदस्य श्री कमल मोरारका जी ने जो कहा वह ठीक ही है कि केन्द्र की सरकार डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग करने का अधिकार रखती है, राज्य सरकारें नहीं। राज्य सरकारें ओवर ड्राफ्ट किया करती हैं। मुझे अभी तक एक उदाहरण नहीं मिला है, अगर किसी के द्वारा मुझे मिल जाय तो प्रसन्नता होगी कि राज्य सरकारें जब ओवर ड्राफ्ट करने लगती है तो रिजर्व बैंक से बार-बार वार्निंग तो मिलती है लेकिन उदाहरण ऐसा नहीं मिला कि किसी के एक्सपेंसेज रिजर्व बैंक ने एकदम स्टाप कर दिये हों। अगर

[श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र]

स्टाप कर दें तो एक पैसे का कलम भी कोई राज्य सरकार खरीद नहीं सकती । राज्यों और केन्द्र का लगाव ऐसा है कि अन्त में वह बोझा केन्द्र सरकार के ऊपर आता है और कोई न कोई उसमें से रास्ता निकाल कर राज्य सरकार को संभाला जाता है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री और यह सरकार 5 वर्ष तक काम करने वाली है लेकिन आज जो राज्य सरकारें काम कर रही है उनकी जिन्दगी डेढ़ दो महीने की जिंदगी है । उसके बाद कि राज्य में कौन सरकार बनेगी अब यह तो चुनाव परिणाम ही आगे बतायेगा। मैंने उससे पहले भी संकेत किया था कि फाइनेंशियल डिसिप्लिन नाम का जो टर्म है यह एक अभ्यास बनता जा रहा है, एक ट्रेडीशन बनती जा रही है कि उसकी परवाह नहीं करनी चाहिये और राज्य सरकारें फाइनेंशियल डिसिप्लिन को तिलांजलि दो कारणों से देना शुरू करती है एक तो उनके ऊपर भी फाइनेंशियल स्ट्रेन रहा है, आन्दोलन हो गया, दस प्रकार के दबाव हो गये, राज्य सरकार झुक गयी, राज्य सरकार के खर्चे बढ़ गये, रिसोर्सेज है नहीं, साधन है नहीं, ओवर ड्राफ्ट में चलाना शुरू किया और कभी कभी ऐसी भी राज्य सरकार होती है कि चीप पापूलेरिटी के लिये ऐसी ऐसी घोषणायें करती चली जाती हैं, एक के बाद दूसरी, दूसरी के बाद तीसरी, तीसरी के बाद चौथी कि सबके अन्दर फाइनेंशियल इम्लीकेशन रहता है और ओवर ड्राफ्ट बढ़ता चला जाता है।

पहले तो मुझे केवल बिहार के बारे में पता था लेकिन लोक सभा के चुनाव के बाद अब धीरे-धीरे पता लग रहा है कि कई राज्यों में बहुत जोर से खेल होता जा रहा है। मैं आदरणीय वित्त मंत्री जी से आग्रह करना चाहता हूं कि मैं जो बोल रहा हूँ उसको जरा ध्यान से सुनें। महोदया, आपके माध्यम से फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का ध्यान मैं आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं, उस विषय की ओर जो बहुत ज्यादा महत्व का विषय है अनेक राज्य हर दिन कुछ न कुछ फाइनेंशियल घोषणायें करते चले जा रहे हैं। कोई नियम होना चाहिये, कोई मर्यादा होनी चाहिये। पहले भी कहा था कि केन्द्र सरकार भारत के किसानों का कर्जा किस सीमा तक माफ करेगी इसके लिये एक कमेटी बनी हुई है । बिहार सरकार ने 15 हजार तक की माफी की घोषणा कर दी है, 6 नये विश्वविद्यालय स्थापित करने की घोषणा कर दी है और एक नहीं आधे दर्जन ऐसे अनाउंसमेंट हैं, ऐसी घोषणायें हैं कि सबके अन्दर फाइनेंशियल इम्पलीकेशंस है । जिससे लगाव है जिस विषय का वह तो बड़ा खुश हो जायेगा और महीने दो महीने के अन्दर कोई यह नहीं पूछने जायेगा कि कब से लागू किया जा रहा है, कब से यह राशि या उसका प्राप्त होना शुरू होगा । दो महीने के बाद वह सरकार तो बदल जायेगी लेकिन इसके बाद जो राज्य सरकार आएगी वह ऐसे आर्थिक संकट में फंसेगी और उसके बाद अनेक राज्यों में कितना बड़ा भारी आन्दोलन होगा कि केन्द्र सरकार उस आग से बच नहीं सकती है । पूरक बजट तो मार्च महीने तक के लिये है यह समझ में आता है लेकिन उसके बाद की परिस्थिति के ऊपर भी केन्द्र सरकार को विचार करना चहिये और अगर इतनी अनियमितताएं अनेक राज्यों में बढ़ती चली जा रही है फिर भारत के राष्ट्रपति के सामने वह चित्र केन्द्र सरकार ले आये और उस अनियमितता पर कैसे अंकुश लगे, निराधार घोषणाओं पर कैसे अंकुश लगे इसका विचार केन्द्र सरकार को करना चाहिये, नहीं तो मार्च महीने के बाद नयी सरकारें बनने के बाद हमारे भारत के वित्त मंत्री के सिर पर ऐसे बोझे होंगे कि वे भारी संकट में फंसते हुये दिखाई देंगे। इसी चेतावनी के साथ मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन कर रहा हूं। धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Ghulam Rasool Matfo. There are four mote speakers, Shri Ram Awadesh Singh, Sourendra Bhattacharjee, Shri Gautam' and Shrimati Sarojini Mahiaht,

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO; Madam Deputy Chairman, I am flabbergasted as will amused to hear. my' dear Mend, who is dearst to me, that is Mr. Kamal Morarka. The records of this House will show that in the last three ■years only he and myself were from the opposition who were attacking the supplementary Budget on two counts. The first count to which he always added-to my voice and I added to his voice, was that this supplementary Budget is being presented on most of tha items where the original estimates could have been envisaged in the budget itself and it was primarily for the reason—this was the argument -—to show lesser deficit at the time of the budget.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri 3. Satyanarayan Reddy) in the Chair]

The second argument advanced by him was that we must see that the supplementary Budgets are not brought too frequently because they distort the original budget estimates and at the end of the year, it ends in a deficit which is carried over to the next year. Today I am \'ery sorry, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to say that my friend did not utter a single word of caution on these two counts. I stand on those two propositions today.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I support you;

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I am grateful to you.

SHRI H. ' HANUMANTHAPPA: He is changing colours.

SHRI' GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I would like to ask the hon. Finance Minister why this supplementary Budget was brought. If his case is that it is the legacy inherited by them from the erstwhile Government, he should come out with that statement. But if the supplementary: Budget is his own, I would like know why for instance, j a sum of Rs. 400 crore as subsidy j alone could not be envisaged in the original budget of 1988-89. Secondly, it is said that the Budget provided Rs. 3121 crores for subsidy on indigenous fertilisers. and Rs. 530 crores as net outgo on account of imported fertilisers. A Supplementary Grant of Rs. 200 crores (net) was obtained in October 1989 for imported fertilisers to cover increased imports. Taking into account the total imports and the Increased domestic production a further Supplementary Grant of Rs. 100 crores for imported fertilisers and Rs 300 crores for indigenous fertilisers | was sought to meet immediate pay-I ments. This "he has to explain. This 1 am saying ~ for illustration purpose only. Then the Supplementary Grant is sought to meet further additional requirements from higher export targets and interest subsidy scheme (Rs. 75 crores) following increase in the rate of interest, subsidy for export credit. Here I may tell him that the rate of growth of exports of the present year is almost commensurate " with the rate of growth of the previous year for the same peribd. If the officers at the time of formulation of original budget had taken this factor into consideration that the overall growth of exports in the first part of next year is so much that it will entail a further payment of subsidy to the tune of Rs. 125 crores and Rs. 75 crores as interest. One could envisage that it, was not good budgeting. It was a wilful effort on the part of the* Finance Ministry to show a lesser deficit first time and then come out with a Supplementary Budget.

I will give you another small instance which can be explained by me in detail. But, Madam, you can understand what bad budgeting is. The Budget is on the anvil, if. will come in two or three months time. The new Government has to take it up as 'first priority and the hon. Finance Minister ha3 to ensure that his officers present a picture which he should not have to change at a later stage. The Central Government has agreed to fund the

[Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto]

SYL canal. Under the Rajiv-Longowal Accord, SYL canal has to be constructed. Now the Budget had provided only Rs. 18 crores for this purpose. Now the Supplementary Budget is providing an additional amount of Rs. 30. 10 crores on this account. Is it not bad budgeting? Can anyone conceive of such a budget? Has the Finance Minister applied his mind as to how he nas come up with this? Has he asked, this question from, ' his officers while framing the Budget as to how this anomaly has crept in?

I am happy that, Mr. Morarka, while intervening, had agreed that two basic factors remain unchanged. I would caution the new Government, i can understand that it is possible and probable that Supplementary Budget has to come. This is the third one. I do not know, the next one will also come. But he has to ensure right now with his officers. I can understand a little amount of adjustment here and " there, but such a big amount equivalent to the total budget of Government of India in 1952 should not come as the third Supplementary Budget. He has to tighten his belt and to ensure with his officers that whatever budget they make and whatever it entails should entail one embarrassment to him. In fact, that is no ein-barrassmentns it embarrassing that when first time it is made, the Budget shews a higher amount of deficit?

PROP. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Matto, the responsibility for the Budget is not with the officers; that has to be taken by the Minister himself.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: That Is why I am stressing that you shall have to tighten your belt and see to ft and' ensure to this House that such large amounts do not come for such purposes. He has to see that budgeting is done on realistic estimates. What does it show? As I was saying, what does it matter if at the beginning of the year the Budget shows a higher deficit?. If there is a deficit, the country has to be taken into confidence that this -is the deficit and We will have to face it. Why should you make a falsi deficit at the beginning and then go on increasing it again and again? This is my advice to the new Government, I would like his reaction whether he' has inherited this Supplementary Grant from- the old regime, or he has framed it himself.

My last point, because you want m_e to conclude, is with regard to Kashmir. A question had been addressed to the Finance Minister by nxy friend. Mr. ^Salaria today, that under the Gadgll formula and later. Kashmir was declared a hill territory along with Himachal Pradesh and other States. Now the point is that under that formula, 90 per cent was to be given as grant and 10 per cent as loan. But Kashmir has been getting a bad treatment over the last several years because we are having 70 per cent as loan and 30 per cent as grant only. This has to-be reversed. This consideration has t6 be given to it because when Himachal Pradesh can get 90 per cent as grant and 10 per cent as loan, the same treatment must be meted out to Kashmir. I think the new • Government will attend to it because if makes a lot of difference to us in computing our annual plans, in computing our budget. I think, he should sympathetically consider this point and reply to the points raised by me.

Thank you, Madam.

DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINIMA-iHHSHI (Karnataka): Thank you, Madam, for giving me a few minutes. I can understand and appreciate the difficulties and The constraints and the previous commitments of the Govern-ment under which the Finance Minister is required to work. But I would like to. confine myself only to a particular point.

He has said that a huge! amount of subsidy is being given for fertilizers. At the receiving end we all would like ta know that the farmer should get at a lower cost the fertilizer that he has to utilise. But we should also know, Madam, that the cost of production of the NPK nitrogenous fertilizers which are being produced in the country, has gone up like anything, and as a result, the 45 (per cent subsidy which is being given, is being increased by 2. per cent more or 3 per cent more. Now it has to be debited out of the Consolidated Fund of India. Therefore, I would like to say that the NPK. nitrogenous fertilizers which are being produced in the country are not even adequate. The capacity inlying idle. Either it may he the SPIC or it may be the IFFCO or it may be the Vijaya, this idle capacity is there.

Secondly, as to the cost of the fertilizer which. is being imported which is also a nitrogenous fertilizer which is at a lower cost, the Government of India has put a cess on that imported fertilizer also; Therefore, the equation runs like this:, imported fertilizer plus ce'ss equal to indigenous fertilizer minus subsidy. The subsidy is rising very high. I" would like the Minister to look into these things also.

Al6o the nitrogenous fertilizer alone is not sufficient for the farmers. It. will only add strength, to the stalk and the leaves. It would not add bulk to the grain. So, in order to add bulk to the grain, phosphatic fertilizers are necessary. Mono-ammonium phosphate and di-ammonium phosphate are going to be produced only to the tune of 3. 5"lakb tonnes or 4 lakh tonnes. The rest of it is required to be imported again. These industrial houses which produce these mono-ammonium phosphate and di-ammonium phosphate or phosphatic fertilizers are given the subsidy,, and that subsidy is given at the manufacturers' level, not at the purchasers' level, at the farmers'; level. This subsidy goes to the tune of Rs 500 crores or so. I would like the Minister to look into these things. I would say, whatever the imported fertilizers may be, it was to the tune of Rs. 1200 crores last year and the year before last. Now it is our fertilizer which is produced in the country, which consists of nitrogen, potash, phosphate plus mud also to the tune of 48 per cent or 49 per cent** Instead of this mud, the American fertilizer which is imported consists of lime which is called an inert material, which is not suited to our land which is alkaline land, not arid soil. Therefore, I would like to say, Madam, that in. spite of all these things also, we "are not able to produce phosphatic fertilizer to the tune that is required in the country. The requirements have increased. But our cost of production has equally increa* sed, riot equally, but in geometrical' proportion it has risen. Therefore, I ' would like the Mlnisi^r to look into these things. It is not a very small amount. And the whole cost will again indirectly be_borne by the farmer himself in other'forms.

Thank you, Madam.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA-CHARJEE (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, though we are concerned with the present Finance Minister, yet, I will begin by mentioning what the former Finance Minister.. Mr. S. B. Chavan told in the House yesterday. Like Mr. Ahluwalia, Mr. Chavan also, more so because he was th© Finance Minister, took exception, very much exception to the statement that coffers~were left empty by the previous Government. And in clarifying the situation Shri Chavan made a dialectical satatement—the coffers are neither empty nor full. NOW. do not know what Prof. Dandavate would say regarding this while reply-' ing on the Supplementary Grants. There must be something when he is prossing for the Supplementary Grants. But after all. the ground for the Supplementary Grants was really prepared by the previous Government.

[Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee]

The present Government is the successor to the past Government with only attendant, assets and liabilities. You know an economy has been left behind. You know nobody in his senses suggested while saying that the coffers are empty that the Union Government would be unable to pay salaries to its employees. Actually this statement related to the question of development, to the question of social commitments and other things. It has been clarified" to us by competent economists not' now but even earlier also, that our development hinges too much on foreign borrowings. 'The IMF borrowing was the most tumultuous one, but there were other borrowings as we'll. The NRI investment is also a borrowing. We are, quite right in computing the NRI investments into borrowings because it is in the foreign exchange that interest has to be paid. J do not want go info all these aspects because the 'time is limited, but I would'like to point out that this pitiable condition of the economy was sought to be expressed by that express sion. I wanted to ask the Finance Minister one thing, but my friend Mr. Matto, has put that question, in a different way. He has asked whether these Supplementary Demands for Grants would add to the projected deficit. Projected deficit means deficit in the Budget for 198S-90. The economic situation document stresses that these relate to year 1989-90. The trends are being reversed. The burden of debt is increasing in a manner which will set at naught many projects which are under way. I am sure the Finance Minister will take care of these things while replying ou the Supplementary Demands for Grants. Notwithstanding all these points I have one simple thing to ask of him. There is a charge of Rs. 600 crores, as loan to'States out of small savings. It has been noted that this will be met by more savings. An allegation came in the press sometime back that the Unit. Trust; of India operated in West Bengal in a manner that the State which had a proud record of small savings was deprived this year of much o£ the benefit of these savings. I would request-the Finance Minister to enquire into these things and if it is found to be true, let him try to correct the inequity, if any.

उपसभापति : गौतम जी आप कितना टाइम लेंगे ?

श्री आनन्द प्रकाश गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : दो मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा । मैं आभारी हूं कि आपने मुझे इस बिल पर बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया । मैं बहुत संक्षेप में अपनी बात कहूंगा ।

मैं इस विनियोग विधेयक, 1989 के समर्थन में विचार रखूंगा । इस बिल में जो सेवाएं और परियोजनाएं दिखाई गयी हैं उनमें मैं देख रहा हूं उर्वरक विभाग, जल संसाधन विभाग, परमाणु ऊर्जा और रेल सेवाएं आदि विषयों पर महत्वपूर्ण खर्चे की बात कही गयी है जिस पर सदन की अनुमति चाही गयी है । ये सारी परियोजनाएं देश की महत्वपूर्ण आवश्यकताओं से जुड़ी हुई हैं जैसे किसानों और कृषि से सम्बन्धित उर्वरक, क्योंकि कृषि देश की अर्थव्यवस्था की रीढ़ है । मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि पिछले पांच वर्षों में उर्वरक के जिस तरह से दाम बढ़े हैं उससे किसानों की हालत खराब हो गयी है । मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से अनुरोध करना चाहूंगा कि यदि सम्भव हो सके तो उर्वरक के दामों में कमी कराई जाए ताकि किसान उससे अपनी तरक्की कर सकें ।

दूसरी चीज यह कहना चाहता हूं कि राज्य सरकारों को आप निर्देश दें कि जो सिंचाई के लिए ट्यूबवैल्स और नहरें चल रही हैं वह उस समय बंद कर दी जाती हैं जब किसानों के लिए सिंचाई का समय होता है, मैं जानता हूं यह आपका विषय नहीं; हो सकता लेकिन आप सरकार को निर्देश दे सकते हैं कि किसानों के हित में नहरें और ट्यूबवैल्स जो बेकार पड़े हुए हैं उन्हें किसानों को सिंचाई के समय उपलब्ध कराया जाए ।

एक और महत्वपूर्ण बात कहना चाहूंगा कि बीज राज्य सरकारों की व्यवस्था के

अनुसार किसानों को दिये जाते हैं । मेरा पिछले सालों का अनुभव है कि इस बारे में बीज, उन्नत बीज किसानों को उस समय मिलते हैं जब बुआई निकल जाती है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि वह सड़ जाते हैं और बनिये की दुकान पर जाकर बिक जाते हैं । इसकी व्यवस्था सुनिश्चित करनी होगी कि किसानों की माली हालत को सुधारा जाए ।

एक चीज और कहना चाहूंगा कि आपने देश के निवासियों का स्वास्थ्य सुधारने के बारे में कहा है । मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि देश में जो अस्पतालों की हालत है उसकी हालत सुधारने की तरफ भी आपको ध्यान देना होगा । बिना दवाओं के लोगों को जाने चली जाती है । किसी भी अस्पताल में जाकर देखिये वे दवाएं देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं ।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) पीठासीन हुए]

मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि यदि आप हमारे देश के निवासियों के स्वास्थ्य के बारे में चिंतित हैं, किसानों के बारे में चिंतित हैं, देश की सुरक्षा के बारे में चिंतित हैं और उन पर चर्चा करने के लिए सदन की अनुमति चाही है तो मेरा विश्वास है कि प्राथमिकता के आधार पर इनकी व्यवस्था सुनिश्चित करें । आपने जो विनियोग विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया है इसकी अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है । आपने इन आवश्यकताओं को देखते हुए जो सदन की अनुमति चाही है तो पूरे सदन को बिना किसी रोक के, बिना किसी आपत्ति के सर्वसम्मति से पास करना चाहिए । मेरा आपसे पुनः अनुरोध है कि आप इसको पास कर दीजिए । धन्यवाद ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : राम अवधेश जी आप संक्षेप में कहिये ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार) : पूरे सत्र में मैं नहीं आया इसलिए इसका जरा ख्याल रखें ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आभारी हूं कि आपने मुझको बुलाया । मैं सबसे पहले इस सदन के माध्यम से देश की जनता को कांग्रेसी कुशासन को उखाड़ फेंकने के लिए बधाई देता हूं । उस पिछली सरकार को उखाड़ फेंकना उतना ही जरूरी था जितना आदमी का जिन्दा रहना जरूरी है । राष्ट्र को जिन्दा रखने के लिए कांग्रेस के कुशासन की समाप्त करना बहुत ही आवश्यक था । लेकिन यह बात भी मैं साफ कहना चाहता हूं कि जितना आवश्यक कांग्रेस के कुशासन को उखाड़ फेंकना जरूरी था उतनी ही जरूरी कांग्रेस की कुनीतियों को भी अब इस सरकार को उखाड़ फेंकना चाहिए । लेकिन मैं देखता हूं कि यह नई सरकार भी उन्हीं कांग्रेस की कुनीतियों को कायम रख रही है, उसी पर चल रही है । कांग्रेसी कुशासन के खत्म होने के साथ-साथ कुनीतियों का खत्म होना भी जरूरी है । कुनीतियां वहीं रहीं और उन्हीं कुनीतियों पर यह सरकार भी चलती रही तो नतीजा कोई नहीं निकलने वाला है । जैसे उदाहरण के लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जिन नीतियों के चलते विषमता फैली, अगर उन नीतियों को दुरुस्त नहीं किया गया तो फिर इस सरकार में और उस सरकार में हमारे लिए कोई फर्क नहीं है । जिन कुनीतियों के चलते बिहार का और पूर्वी भारत का शोषण हुआ, उन्हीं को कायम रखा गया, उनको दुरुस्त नहीं किया गया तो फिर यह सरकार भी उसी राह पर जाएगी जिस राह पर पिछली सरकार गई ।

महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि डा. लोहिया कहा करते थे कि नीति, नेता और नीयत अगर ठीक हैं, तब तो काम ठीक होगा । अगर नीति बना दी और नेता और नीयत ठीक नहीं हों तो काम नहीं हो सकता है । जैसे पिछली सरकार की कुछ नीतियां देखने में अच्छी लगती थीं, लेकिन नेता और नीयत ठीक नहीं थी, जनता के हित में काम करने के लिए ठीक नहीं थे, इसीलिये काम नहीं हुआ । इधर जो नई सरकार बनी है, इसकी नीति अभी तक स्पष्ट नहीं हुई है, लेकिन नेता की नीयत ठीक नहीं है । प्रधानमंत्री ने छूटते ही पहला बयान यह दिया कि देश का खजाना खाली है

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

शायद देश की जनता को चुनावी वायदों से मुकरने के लिए यह एक बहाना था और इसीलिए बहुत से वायदे किये गये। यह कहा गया कि हम यह काम करेंगे, फलझड़ियां बरसायेंगे, घर-घर बिजली लगा देंगे और क्या-क्या वायदे नहीं किये गये। उन वायदों से मुकरने के लिए श्री वी. पी. सिंह ने जो पहला बयान देश के नाम दिया वह बहुत ही खतरनाक था और छलावापूर्ण था।

महोदय, मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि उन नीतियों को जिनमें एक नया पैसा भी नहीं लगता, उनको लागू करने में क्या दिक्कत है ? मैं समझता हूं कि कोई प्लान्ट लगाने में, कोई कारखाना लगाने में, पैसा खर्च हो सकता है। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूं कि श्री वी.पी. सिंह की सरकार उन नीतियों को लागू करे जिनको लागू करने में खजाने पर एक पैसे का भी बोझ नहीं पड़ता है, जैसे मंडल आयोग की सिफारिशों को लागू करने में कितने पैसे खर्च होते हैं इनको पहले दौर में ही लागू करना चाहिए था। लेकिन देश की जनता के सामने जो वायदे किये गये उनको झुठला दिया गया है। उप-प्रधानमंत्री श्री देवीलाल ने देश में घूम घूम कर कहा कि मंडल आयोग की सिफारिशों को लागू करेंगे। उस वक्त मैंने कहा था कि यह आदमी असत्य बोल रहा है और देश की जनता को धोखा दे रहा है.....(व्यवधान)। आप क्यों बोल रहे हैं, आप पर बोलूंगा तो आप भी छटपटाने लगेंगे। आप इस लिये बोल रहे हैं क्योंकि आपको अच्छा नहीं लग रहा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बो० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : राम अवधेश जी अब समाप्त करें।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मेरा डेढ़ मिनट का टाइम इन्होंने ले लिया।

महोदय, देवीलाल जी ने क्या कहा ? आर्थिक आरक्षण के लिये मैं भीतर और बाहर संघर्ष करूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बो. सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : एक मिन्ट के अंदर समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मंडल आयोग की सिफारिशों को लेकर देश में घूम रहे हैं कि मंडल आयोग की सिफारिशें आर्थिक आधार पर हैं। ऐसा डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर अगर किसी और देश में होता, जर्मनी या इंग्लैंड में होता तो उसे कान पकड़ कर बाहर कर लिया जाता। उन्होंने देश में घूम घूम कर यह कहा यह देश की 52 फीसदी जनता के साथ न केवल वचन-भंग है बल्कि विश्वासघात है। इसको जनता बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर से पूछना चाहता हूं कि आप बोलें। आप क्यों नहीं बोलते हो। मुंह तो खोलो, थोड़ा मुंह खोलो।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बो० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : आपका डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर घोषित कार्यक्रमों के खिलाफ बोलता हो और आप....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बो० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : कोई नई बात बोलो।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : इलाहाबाद में आरक्षण संबंधी आंदोलन शुरू हुआ। आप चुप क्यों हैं ? आपको बोलना चाहिये। अब मैं दूसरी बात कहना चाहता हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बो० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : राम अवधेश जी, आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल में महोदय सब पर खर्चा दिखाया गया है लेकिन कल्याण पर खर्चा नहीं दिखाया गया है, मानव संसाधन पर नहीं है। 52 फीसदी जो पिछड़ी हुई जनता है उन जातियों के छात्रों के लिये छात्रवृत्ति देने के लिये पैसे का प्रावधान नहीं है। यह अनुचित तो नहीं था जो 52 फीसदी जनता के विद्यार्थियों के लिए 5—10 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान अगर कर देते। मान्यवर, आप तो समाजवादी, रहे हैं और पिछड़ों के लिये लड़ते रहे हैं। जब आपने इसको पेश किया तो क्या उनकी आपको याद नहीं आई, आप उनको भूल गये। थोड़ा सा तो उनको याद रखना चाहिये था।...(व्यवधान)...यह चालाकी हो सकती है। मैं आपसे अपेक्षा करता हूं यह सरकार पिछली सरकारों की तरह काम नहीं करेगी, इस तरह नहीं चलेगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : अब समाप्त करिये ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : एक और बात कहकर मैं बैठता हूं । महोदय, मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री अगर पिछली सरकारों के वित्त मंत्रियों जैसा काम न करें । मैंने पिछले सत्रों में लगातार टाटा की कर चोरी के बारे में यहां पर सवाल उठाया था और चिट्ठी भी लिखी थी । मेरे पास उस चिट्ठी की कापी है कि यह लोग सेंट्रल सेल टैक्स कैसे मारते हैं । टाटा और बिरला 40 करोड़ से लेकर 2 सौ करोड़ तक मारते हैं । इस पर कोई रोक नहीं लगती है । मैं चाहता हूं कि यह प्रोसीडिंग्स का पार्ट बना दिया जाय । मैं यह चिट्ठी देता हूं । यह कंपनी के आफिसर ने लिखी है । अगर हम लोग इसको सुधारेंगे नहीं तो यह सेल टैक्स के नियम में गलती होगी और इर्रेगुलर होगा । मैं चाहता हूं कि इसे प्रोसीडिंग का पार्ट बना दिया जाय । इसको मैंने राजीव गांधी को दिया था । लेकिन राजीव गांधी को न मालूम टाटा से क्या मुहब्बत है, क्या लेन-देन है । उन्होंने इस बारे में कुछ भी नहीं किया । लगातार मैं चिट्ठी लिखता रहा राजीव गांधी को और वित्त मंत्री को । कुछ जांच हुई लेकिन जांच के बाद कहीं फिर यह चीज रुक गई ।

मान्यवर, अंत में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूं । विदेशी कर्जे के बारे में यहां पर सवाल उठा । विदेशी कर्जे का क्या हुआ । यहां प्रोजेक्ट बने, मार्डनाइजेशन हो रहा है । आपको याद होगा कि 12 मई को मैंने सवाल उठाया था कि स्टील मार्डनाइजेशन के लिये बाहर की मल्टीनेशनल कंपनी को पैसा दिया जा रहा है । वित्त मंत्री महोदय से मैं कहना चाहता हूं . . . (समय की घंटी) बहुत जरूरी बात है । दो लफ्ज बोलने दिये जांय ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : कब तक बोलेंगे ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : बिरला टेक्नीकल सर्विसेज को जिसमें मात्र 16 आदमी हैं इस कंपनी को 461 करोड़ रुपया दुर्गापुर स्टील प्लांट के मार्डनाइजेशन में दिया गया । प्राइवेट सेक्टर के आदमी और काम बांटते हैं पब्लिक सेक्टर को । आज मेरी पब्लिक सेक्टर मैनेजमेंट के एक आदमी से भेंट हुई वह रो रो कर कह रहा था कि हम लोगों को काम नहीं मिलता है हम लोग खाली बैठे हुये हैं । ए.एम.सी. को 21 करोड़ रुपये का बिड़ला ने काम दिया है उस काम के लिये वह सेल, दुर्गापुर से 81 करोड़ रुपये लेगा । जो असली बनायेगा उसको 21 करोड़ देगा और जो बिचौलिया है वह तीन हिस्सा खा जायेगा इस तरह से देश के पैसे को लूटा जा रहा है । राजीव गांधी ने खुद कहा कि 100 रुपये में से केवल 15 रुपये जनता तक पहुंचते हैं और बाकी 85 रुपये बिचौलिये खा जाते हैं । यह तो खुद राजीव गांधी को याद करना चाहिये लेकिन मैं चाहता हूं कि नये वित्त मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री 100 में से 85 खाने नहीं देंगे और बिड़ला टेक्नीकल सर्विसेज को जो आर्डर दिया गया है उसे रद्द करें क्योंकि 21 करोड़ वह देगा, सरकारी सेक्टर से वह उसी काम के लिये 81 करोड़ रुपये लेगा । इस तरह से यह रुपये की लूट है इसके बारे में जांच कराई जाये । मैं समझता हूं कि यह वित्त मंत्री साहब इस मामले की जांच करायेंगे और जो बिड़ला टेक्नीकल सर्विसेज को आर्डर दिया गया है उसको रद्द कर देंगे तब हम समझेंगे कि इस सरकार में और उस सरकार में कोई फर्क है तथा जनता के पैसे की लूट के बारे में यह सरकार सजग है । यदि आप जनता के पैसे को बिचौलियों के द्वारा नहीं लूटने देंगे तब हम समझेंगे कि सरकार के चरित्र में परिवर्तन हुआ है नहीं तो फिर टाटा से वही दोस्ती । एम.आर.टी.पी. कहां गया, एम.आर.टी.पी. को आप रिवाइव कराइये तब हम समझेंगे कि आप पूंजीपतियों के खिलाफ हैं नहीं तो शराब वही और बोतल बदल गई है । मैं इतना ही कहूंगा और मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूं ।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. ViceChainnan. Sir, while listening to

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate] . the debate, I felt that you had permitted the House to combine Item, Ne. 2 and also the next item, which is the Short Duration Discussion on ihe Economic Advisory Council's Paper. Anyway, many things that could have been said in tomorrow's debate have feeen said in anticipation today.

Sir, I must thank the honourable Member, Shri Ahluwalia who, with his expertise and knowledge on economic and financial matters and with great erudition, has put forward a very important point of view. I must admit that a number of things that have been said have nothing to do With the Appropriation Bill. But if l don't make any observations on what they have said, they would feel hurt and, therefore, I must take cognizance of them.

He began by saying, that the new Government has completely upset the normal budgetary processes and conventions and they are likely to have the Vote on Account and one does not kn'ow when actually the Budget would be presented! I would' like to remind the honourable Member that in 1980, when Shri Venkataraman, who is our present Rashtrapati and who was the Finance Minister at the time, presented the Vote on Account on the 28th February, 1980 and ■ as, late as June he presented his fullrffedged Budget. if you go through the experience of the last few years, you will-see that it is left to the Finance Minister to choose the correct point of time to present the Budget if he feels that he need not present his own Budget with his perspective of the infrastructure with somebody else's perspective. He was fully justified then and we would also be justified if we prefer t_0 have the Vote on Account or the Budget as ana when necessary according to . our convenience.

He raised'also-that famous controversy about the empty coffers and he triad to quote my statement. But, fortunately for me, I make my own statements and therefore, I remember them. I bad said while making an observation on empty coffers that it is a picturesque way of describing an economic situation. It is not to be taken literally. It only means that the situation is a menacing one, but at the same time we need not be panicky, we can control the situation. In fact, when a prominent leader says that the coffers are empty, I say it is an understatement because empty coffers are better but having a heavy burden of debt is still worse. If I say I haw my coffers at my place Rs. 10, 00!) and I am able to meet all the necessary expenses but at the same time I hide the fact that I have a 'loan of two lakh rupees, then probably ■ saying that my coffers are empty is wrong. Really speaking, taking cognizance of the debt, I think the situation is quite bad. He raised a very interesting point. I do not know whether he has realised what he said. He said, for instance, taking into account the NRI deposits, though up to the last financial year, Rs. 83, 000 crores is the total debt burden. At the end of March, end of the present financial year, it is likely to go up to" Rs. 100, 000 crores. And he said that a Finance Minister must explain: is it not a fact that all these debts have been taken and have been utilized for developmental activities? He mentioned various projects. I would have been extremely happy if the major and substantial portion of the loans that we have taken were really spent on developmental activities. But the tragedy of the situation is when there is Rs. 100, 000 crores of foreign debt, by the end Of the "financial year what the debt service ratio will be. *it,* is today 23 I am afraid it is likely to go beyond 30. And if 30 per cent Or more IP the debt service ratio, what will be the implication? it will mean, that almost one-third of our export earnings will be spent not on developmental activities but only servicing charges in making interest payments. We borrow for developmental activities, and if we are required to pay from the export earnings not for developmental activities but for 'making only, interest payment, in that case

the very purpose is not solved. I was asked a question with a challenge: what are you going to do with the IMF? IMF, no doubt, hai got a certain interest rate which is quite different and more beneficial compared to the rest of them. But it is not only one agency from which we have borrowings. There are also internal, -There is a resource mobilization source. That will be tapped also. We have, to avoid certain expenditure. But at the same time I would like to point out to the hon. Member who said that the health or the economy is very sound, my friend Morarka struck the correct point, he hit the nail: as far as the States are concerned they can have overdrafts as far as the Centre is concerned it has an unbridled power and capacity to print notes. Ultimately what is deficit financing? Is it not a fact? Let us hot blame each other. As far as the last' Five Year Plan is concerned, there is one target which the previous Government not only fulfilled but also crossed it. In the last. Five Year Plan the deficit financing target was Rs. 14, 000 crores. But with one month remaining for the completion of the Plan period, we find that the entire deficit financing had crossed Rs. 30. 000 crores. Now this-is the extent of deficit financing. All economists have accepted the fact. If we' get an opportunity to have a discussion on the Economic Advisory Council's Report. I will try to discuss this problem, - in depth. But may I say that that the loans are borrowed In such a big way that debt service ratio is far beyond the safety range of 20 per cent, and as a result of that our resources are frittered away? That is the point. He raised the question of NRI. I do not want to go into the debate. At the other place we had the, debate on NRI—their activities, their contribution, their invest-moit. Not that. T have got any animus against this. But let us take note of the fact that even the NHIs who gave certain denosits at anv staee can ■withdraw them. Therefore, when we calouiote the entire external debt liability. N. R. I, has also to be included. So, not only 83000 crores of rupees ir the liability. But if you take this liability, it is likely to go up to 100, 000 crores of rupees. That must be taken note of.

As far as ratio is concerned, tie said 'as per coni*>aTed to many other developing countries of the world, bur debt which is nearabout 20 per cent of the entire GDP is not very bad'. Very often we are In the habit of complacency. We try to find out how many countries are below our mark and get satisfied that we are quite all right. Sometimes I feel like giving an analogy. It is like the election results. Right from 1952 onwards, because of the peculiar election *system* and the type of voting, we find that there is a disparity between votes and the seats won. Right from 1952 onwards, those who came to power got nearabout 40 to 45 per cent votes and those who actually remained in opposition got 55 to 60 per cent votes. Nobody gets more than 50 per cent votes. Even those who get 40 to 45 per. cent votes rule. Why does it happen? I am remainded of an anecdote. I myself went to an educational institution. I was asked to give a gold medal to a girl. I gave the gold medal. I asked that lady student: "Did "you pass in first class"? She said: "No". "Did you pass in second class"? "No". "Did you pass in pass class"? She said: "No". She said that she had failed. Then why this gold medal? She said, "The entire class failed but I am the first among those who have failed and, therefore, l am happy about it. " So, we are trying to find out the list of all those developing countries who are better than us and whose position is better than us. When, ever we talk of inflation, we say that it is a global phenomenon". Whenever we talk about corruption, we say that it is a global phenomenon, And then we try to find out in this blacklist what our numbe- is. Even if we are-black, we are sufficiently low and we are quite satisfied and we are complacent about it. As the Finance Minister,

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

I will not be satisfied. I have been asked a direct question in this debate also, "Will you resort to IMF borrowings?' I must make a statement of fact which I made this morning during the Question Hour. A* far as IMF is concerned, we have not applied for the loan. No negotiations are going on. I must make it clear that there are different options and all those options will have to be exercised. But One option we will reject. If there is any agency, international institution or financial institu, tution which tries to put on us the conditions which will violate and militate against the basic and fundamental economic and financial policies of the Government and which'will be detrimental to the dignity and honour of the country, we shall totally reject those conditionalities, no matter what are the financial institutions that try to give Us the borrowings and loans. There are various options. We will try to explore them. There are. widening deficits which will have to be curtailed. We have to cut down the expenditure. We have to see that excess liquidity is also controlled and that has to be re-stratined. All" this we will try to do. But that is not the main question over

There is one friend of ours who referred'to the strike of the journalists. I do know, with all my sympathy for them. I can assure you that -we will try our best to see that the working journalists are contacted. We will try to understand their sentiments. We will try to see that we try to use pur good offices to see that the justice is done to them. This has nothing to do with the. Appropiration Bill. For instance, if somebody asked: "In order to tighten the Anti-defection Bill, what will you do through the Appropriation Bill?" I will say that this is not the agency through which I can do. The Appropriation Bill has a limited purpose. In the other House, there Is Rule No. 215 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the **House** which specifically says th&t the debates on the Supplementary Grants will not discuss "the original grants, will not discuss the general poxicy measures and they will discuss cnly tne items in the Supplementary Grants. Even the policies related to those Supplementary Grants will be' discussed. I have never been in this House. I may not have been an Elder in that sense. But when I come irom that House to this House, I find that there is more liberalism and there is more freedom. Probably, the general atmosphere of freedom in the ■ country has also pervaded in this House and, therefore, you have got more freedom so that you can cross all limits. and try to extend our Resolu-. tions and Motions far beyond the limits for which they are meant.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजोत सिंह अहलुवालिया : आपके लोगों ने ही सिखाया है ।

SHRI MADHU DANDAVATE; Whoever has taught, anyway you have got freedom. I am happy about it. All right, whoever has started it, you have got the freedom. I am happy about -it.

I must say that Mr. Matto raised a very important question regarding subsidies and exports and we will definitely examine that in depth. He said, "Why is it that officers prepare a Budget in a certain way, did they not anticipate them?" In fact, they indicated to him that- new imports have been met as a result of that, new burden will be there, and as a result of that, we have put certain items here and certain allocations in this. Sir, I take this opportunity, and as, far as I am concerned as a Finance, Minister. I must make it explicitly clear that I take the assistance from my officers. But my. attitude to my ; experts and officers will never be that heads I win, tails you lose. I have a right to appear before this House and give my explanations. If somebody attacks me, I have the right and the power to defend myself. But my officers have "not got that power. And, therefore, I shall not hide behind my experts and officers and say that what-

ever merit is there; that goes to Madhu Dandavate, the Finance Minister, and whatever manipulations have been done, for that the officers are responsible. I will not have this fine distinction between the officers and the Minister. Those who want to criticise, they must have the guts to criticise the Ministers, they must have- the guts to criticise the Prime Minister. Do not try to save the Ministers by just attacking the officers and tolerating the mistakes committed by Ministers like us. We must be prepared to share the merits, and we must be prepared to share the , failures on our part as the Ministers. I head the Ministry, and, tnerexore, whether the merits or demerits, I shall take the full responsibility, I will not pass on the buck to the others.

' SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You advice your colleagues abouts it. Yesterday, we have seen anotner Minister. "

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Even without advice, I thinK, they wiil . grasp this point. "

I* am thankful to Dr. Sarojini' Mahishi who has raised very significant question because subsidies and, all related to these Grants, and she has given a fine warning. There are many friends like this hon. Member. A colleague of mine who has led the Kisan movement might be sitting on the opposite side. But it has been the experience of those who are engaging themselves- in the Kisan. movement, the peasant movement that whenever the subsidies are given, the subsidies and their advantage must reach the lowest strata of the peasantry. Subsidies are meant for the interests of. the farmers and they are swallowed by someone else. I assure this House that I will take every possible precaution that whenever the subsidies are given they reach the right spot, and it is the peasants and the kisans who will be able to take full advantage of that. That is what I wanted to say.

As far as the motivation for various Demanus that" have Deen placed before you is concerned, 6ir, I would humoly submit without challenging your knowledge about the documents that have been submitted to you that you will find lhat there is a footnote that has been placed below every Supplementary Demand, and we have given the explanation as to why the Supplementary Demand is necessary.. In some cases, the import of fertilizer increased. In some case, we have deliberately increased the export targets. The hon. Member said, '" did the officer not anti-j cipate that the exports will be necessary?" But when the balance of payments position has been spoiled and it has deteriorated, the only way to improve the balance of payment position is to make the imports selective and not indscriminate, and see that the quality exports are augmented, sometimes necessarily by taking' even technology outside, sometimes indigenously. But if we have to augment the exports, in that case, certain promotion is to be given to the exports. You will find -that in some of, the places we are required to give them support and, therefore, that has been done.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER. Cash compensatory support. ■

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Cash compensatory support has been given. That amount is required. At some places, subsidies are required. At some places, dearness allowance rates have been changed. And as a result, the new burden has come. There also it was not envisaged earlier. But when these new burdens have come, we are required to come with Supplementary Demands, and that is the reason why the rationale of every Demand which we have been seeking from this House has been provided in the footnote. I am sure all Members must have read it. I am glad that in spite of some provocation here pared to share and there, as far as the Supplementary Demands are concerned, I am sure there is a total

unanimity. I would not like the House to be divided on this. I request you that the entire Appropriation Bill should be adopted unanimously.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY). The question is;

"That the Bill to authorise payment, and - appropriation *of.* certain further sum$_s$ from and but of the consolidated Fund of India for the services -of the financial year 1939-90, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration. "

The *motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 *and* 3 *and the Schedule were added to the* Bill.

Clause 1, *the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned. "

The question was proposed.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : एक मिनट सर । टाटा पर कुछ कार्यवाही होगी या नहीं होगी, इसके बारे में भी आप कुछ बोलिये न ?

प्रो० मधु दंडवते : देखिये, इसका इससे कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है और आप हमें जानते हैं कि हम जो कुछ करेंगे, वह डटकर करेंगे ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY; The ques. tion is.

"That the Bill be returned. " *The*

motion was adopted.

STATEMENTS BY MINISTER I. Re.

Developments in Romania

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL): Sir,

In recent weeks radical, yet admirably peaceful, changes have taken place all over Eastern Europe in the direction of democratization, political pluralism and the evolution 'of more representative systems and institutions reflecting popular aspirations. Romania has been an unfortunate exception to the trend towards peaceful transformations in Eastern Europe.

Events were triggered off by the brutal killings of unarmed civilians in the town of Timisoara in the Transy-lvanian region of Romania. The borders of Romania were sealed, as the, trouble spread to other Romanian cities, including Bucharest. Mass disturbances and protests at a rally in Buncharest on 22nd December compelled the former President Ceausescu and his wife to flee from Bucharest. They were later caught and executed after trial by a military tribunal.

Even in "its last hours, the Ceausescu regime unleashed a shockingly brutal wave of terror and violence against its own people. The Government of India strongly condemns the widespread violence and massacre of innocent Romanian citizens, including children. Our profound sympathies are with them. The Romanian people have Paid a very heavy price for attaining their freedom and democratic rights. We salute their fearlessness, bravery and sacrifice.

The situation within Romania has begun to stabilise. A Council of the National Salvation Front has assumed power in Romania. They have announced a programme of action including holding of free elections in April 1990. We have been maintaining contact with them both through our , Ambassador. in Romania as well as through the Romanian Ambassador in